

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 13347

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, MARR, JA, UR

SUBJECT: JCP POSITION ON KURILE ISLANDS

SUMMARY: JAPAN COMMUNIST PARTY HAS TAKEN OCCASION OF PRIMIN TANAKA VISIT TO MOSCOW TO RESTATE ITS POSITION ON RETURN OF KURILE ISLANDS TO JAPAN. JCP ORGAN AKAHATA OCTOBER 11 EXPRESSED REGRET THAT NORTHERN TERRITORIES WERE NOT MENTIONED IN JOINT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED IN MOSCOW AT CONCLUSION OF TANAKA VISIT. AKAHATA RENEWED CALL FOR IMMEDIATE CONCLUSION OF PEACE TREATY WITH USSR TO SECURE RETURN OF HABOMAI AND SHIKOTAN, ABROGATION OF US-JAPAN MUTUAL SECURITY TREATY AS PRECONDITION FOR NEGOTIATIONS WITH USSR FOR RETURN OF ALL KURILE ISLANDS, AND ABROGATION OF SAN FRANCISCO TREATY LANGUAGE BY WHICH JAPAN RENOUNCED CLAIMS TO KURILE ISLANDS. END SUMMARY.

1. JCP ORGAN AKAHATA EXPRESSED REGRET IN EDITORIAL OCTOBER 11 THAT JOINT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED IN MOSCOW OMITTED REFERENCE TO TERRITORIAL QUESTION, AND RESTATED TRADITIONAL JCP POSITION THAT YOSHIDA GOVERNMENT ABANDONED
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KURILE ISLANDS BY SIGNING SAN FRANCISCO TREATY IN 1951.

EDITORIAL EMPHASISED THAT DEMAND FOR RETURN OF ISLANDS FULLY JUSTIFIED BY HISTORIAL FACT THAT JAPAN DID NOT OBTAIN KURILE ISLANDS BY WAR OR AGGRESSION AND CLAIMED THAT JAPAN'S MILITARY COOPERATION WITH UNITED STATES ALSO STANDS AS BARRIER TO RESOLUTION OF TERRITORIAL QUESTION. EDITORIAL CONCLUDED WITH SUCCINT STATEMENT OF JCP KURILE ISLANDS POLICY -- (A) CONCLUSION OF JAPAN-SOVIET PEACE TREATY IMMEDIATELY TO OBTAIN RETURN OF HABOMAI AND SHIKOTAN ON BASIS OF 1956 JAPAN-USSR JOINT DECLARATION; (B) NEGOTIATION WITH USSR ON RETURN OF ALL KURILE ISLANDS, FOLLOWING ABROGATION OF US-JAPAN MUTUAL SECURITY TREATY; AND (C) ABROGATION OF ARTICLE II OF SAN FRANCISCO TREATY.

2. AKAHATA CORRESPONDENT IN STORY DATELINED MOSCOW, OCTOBER 10, POINTED OUT THAT JOINT COMMUNIQUE DID NOT MENTPTN NORTHERN TERRITORIES, WHICH HE DEFINED AS MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM FOR DISCUSSION AT JAPANESE-SOVIET SUMMIT, AND CONCLUDED THAT LANGUAGE OF COMMUNIQUE MORE VAGUE THAT LANGUAGE OF 1956 MATSUMOTO-GROMYKO NOTE WHICH LINKED PEACE TREATY NEGOTIATIONS TO TERRITORIAL QUESTION.

3. LOICHIRO UEDA, JCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER, ISSUED STATEMENT OCTOBER 10 CRITICAL OF LDP GOVERNMENT FOR ABANDONING KURILE ISLANDS AT SAN FRANCISCO IN 1951, AND CALLING FOR SETTLEMENT OF TERRITORIAL QUESTION ON BASIS OF ABROGATION OF US-JAPAN MUTUAL SECURITY TREATY AND ARTICLE II OF SAN FRANCISCO TREATY. UEDA ALSO BELITTLED PRIMIN TANAKA FOR PLAYING ROLE OF FAITHFUL SALESMAN FOR KISSINGER CONCEPT IN EUROPE, AND CHARGED THAT HE DISCUSSED RESOURCES PROBLEMS IN EUROPE AS SPOKESMAN FOR JAPANESE "MONOPOLY CAPITAL".

4. IN OUTLINING JCP POSITION ON KURILE ISLANDS EARLIER, DURING PRESS CONFERENCE SEPTEMBER 14, CHIEF OF JCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARIAT TETSUZO FUWA CALLED FOR ABROGATION OF ONLY PARA C OF ARTICLE II, SAN FRANCISCO TREATY, UNDER WHICH JAPAN RENOUNCED ALL RIGHTS, TITLE AND CLAIM TO KURILE ISLANDS. HIS STATED REASON WAS THAT THERE

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EXIST NO GROUNDS FOR JAPAN TO DIVEST SELF OF KURILE ISLANDS, SINCE NO PART OF THEM, EVEN NORTHERN KURILE ISLANDS, WAS SEIZED BY FORCE. FUWA RECALLED THAT YOSHIDA GOVERNMENT EXPLAINED TO DIET AFTER CONCLUSION OF SAN FRANCISCO TREATY THAT JAPAN HAD THEREBY ABANDONED CLAIM TO BOTH NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN KURILE ISLANDS. FUWA THEN CRITICIZED QTE SOPHISTRY UNQTE OF HATOYAMA GOVERNMENT WHICH LATER ASSERTED THAT

ETOROFU AND KUNASHIRI ARE NOT PART OF KURILE ISLANDS.
FUWA ALSO URGED CONCLUSION OF JAPAN-SOVIET PEACE
TREATY TO SECURE RETURN OF HABOMAI AND SHIKOTAN, AND
URGED THAT JAPAN WALK PATH OF PEACE AND NEUTRALITY TO
CREAT CONDITIONS WHICH PREVENT UNITED STATES AND
OTHER NATIONS FROM CONVERTING KURILE ISLANDS INTO
MILITARY BASE AS PREREQUISITE FOR NEGOTIATIONS
BY JAPAN WITH SOVIETS ON RETURN OF ALL KURILES.

5. COMMENT: POSITION TAKEN BY JCP ON KURILE ISLANDS
QUESTION, WHILE CONSISTENT WITH IMAGE OF INDEPENDENT
NATIONALISM IT SEEKS TO PROJECT, HARDLY SEEMS LIKELY
TO ATTRACT SIGNIFICANT NEW DOMESTIC SUPPORT FOR PARTY
UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES. JCP STUDIOUSLY AVOIDS QTE
NORTHERN TERRITORY UNQTE LANGUAGE WHICH IT ACCUSES
LDP OF ADOPTING TO OBFUSCATE FACT THAT GOJ ITSELF HAD
EARLIER ABANDONED KURILE ISLANDS AT SAN FRANCISCO.
IN TERMS OF RELATIONS WITH FRATERNAL PARTIES
ABROAD, STRONG NATIONALISTIC POSITION TAKEN BY JCP
DOES NOT NECESSARILY OFFSET RISK OF FURTHER ALIENATION
FROM CPSU WITH COMPENSATORY IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS
WITH CCP, EVEN THOUGH PRC VOICES SUPPORT FOR JAPANESE
POSITION ON NORTHERN TERRITORIES.

6. JCP POSITION ON KURILE ISLANDS DOES, HOWEVER, RAISE
ONE ASPECT OF TERRITORIAL ISSUE WHICH MIGHT CONCEIVABLY
IMPINGE ON US-JAPAN RELATIONS IN FUTURE, I.E., WHETHER
SOVIETS MIGHT DEMAND LIMITATION ON APPLICATION OF
US-JAPAN MUTUAL SECURITY TREATY TO NORTHERN
TERRITORIES IT MIGHT ULTIMATELY DECIDE TO RETURN TO
JAPAN, AS CONDITION FOR THEIR RETURN. END COMMENT.
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